

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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O R 172142Z FEB 75

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM IMMEDIATE

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 8362

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 02426

EXDIS

SECTO 229

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSON

1. PLEASE SEE FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSON AND CONVEY
FOLLOWING ORAL MESSAGE TO HIM FROM ME:

2. BEGIN MESSAGE. DURING MY MEETINGS TODAY WITH FOREIGN
MINISTER GENSCHER IN BONN, HE MENTIONED THAT YOU WOULD
SOON BE VISITING THE MIDDLE EAST. SINCE I HAVE JUST COM-
PLETED A TRIP TO THE AREA, I THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE HELPFUL
TO YOU IF I WERE TO GIVE YOU MY IMPRESSIONS OF THE SITUA-
TION THERE AND A BRIEF DESCRIPTION, AS WE SEE IT, OF WHERE
THE MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATING EFFORTS NOW STAND. I HAVE
THEREFORE ASKED AMBASSADOR STRAUZ-HUPE TO CONVEY TO YOU MY
CURRENT ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION. YOU WILL OF COURSE BE
FORMING YOUR OWN CONCLUSIONS AS YOU TRAVEL IN THE AREA,
BUT SINCE WE HAVE BEEN ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN PEACEMAKING
EFFORTS THERE OVER THE PAST FIFTEEN MONTHS, YOU MAY FIND I
USEFUL TO HAVE OUR APPRECIATION OF THE SITUATION. END
ORAL MESSAGE.

3. YOU S/HOULD BRIEF FOREIGN MINISTER ALONG FOLLOWING LINE
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A. SECRETARY'S LATEST VISIT TO MIDDLE EAST WAS ESSEN-

TIALLY EXPLORATORY--TO FOLLOW-UP ON DIPLOMATIC CONSULTATIONS OF RECENT MONTHS WITH KEY MIDDLE EAST GOVERNMENTS AND, THROUGH DIRECT TALKS WITH LEADERS OF THOSE GOVERNMENTS, TO SEE WHETHER POSSIBILITY EXISTS TO NEGOTIATE FURTHER AGREEMENTS IN THE STEP-BY-STEP PROCESS TOWARD A MIDDLE EAST PEACE SETTLEMENT.

B. OUR CONCLUSION IS THAT SUCH A POSSIBILITY DOES IN FACT EXIST AND THAT PRINCIPAL GOVERNMENTS SECRETARY VISITED--EGYPT, SYRIA, JORDAN, SAUDI ARABIA AND ISRAEL--WANT US TO CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS. SECRETARY THEREFORE PLANS TO RETURN TO AREA IN FIRST HALF OF MARCH FOR A MORE INTENSIVE AND CONCRETE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

C. WE FOUND GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH OUR VIEW THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO RECONVENE THE GENEVA CONFERENCE--WHICH WE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT AS THE FRAMEWORK AND FORUM FOR AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT--INCIRCUMSTANCES WHERE THERE HAD FIRST BEEN ANOTHER CONCRETE STEP ON THE GROUND. IN THE ABSENCE OF THE MOMENTUM SUCH A STEP WOULD GENERATE, WE BELIEVE A RETURN TO GENEVA WOULD LEAD TO ALMOST CERTAIN STALEMATE, WITH ALL THE FRUSTRATIONS AND DANGERS THAT WOULD INVOLVE.

D. THE MAIN ISSUES TO BE DEALT WITH IN THIS ROUND ARE (1) TO RECONCILE EGYPT'S NEED FOR A SIGNIFICANT ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL, WITH ISRAEL'S NEED FOR RECIPROCAL POLITICAL UNDERTAKINGS BY EGYPT THAT WILL REASSURE ISRAELI OPINION THAT A FURTHER AGREEMENT REPRESENTS A GENUINE MOVE IN THE DIRECTION OF NON-BELLIGERENCY AND PEACE; (2) TO REASSURE

KISSENGER

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SYRIA--AS WE HAVE SOUGHT TO DO--THAT IT WILL NOT BE EX-
CLUDED FROM THE PEACE-MAKING PROCESS AND THAT THE STEP-BY
STEP APPROACH IS NOT DESIGNED TO DIVIDE THE ARABS ONE
FROM ANOTHER; AND (3) TO KEEP THE QUESTION OF PALESTINIAN
REPRESENTATION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS--FOR WHICH WE RECOGNIZ
A SOLUTION MUST BE FOUND AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME--FROM
BEING INJECTED PREMATURELY INTO THE PICTURE, SINCE THE
PLO'S REFUSAL TO NEGOTIATE ON THE BASIS OF A RECOGNITION
OF ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST UNDERSTANDABLY MAKES IT AN UN-
ACCEPTABLE NEGOTIATING PARTNER TO ISRAEL.

E. DURING THE FEW WEEKS BEFORE THE SECRETARY'S NEXT
TRIP, WE HAVE ASKED THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED TO REFLECT
HOW THESE ISSUES CAN BE MANAGED. MEANWHILE, WE ARE IN
TOUCH WITH THE SOVIETS AS CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE GENEVA CON-
FERENCE TO COMPARE ASSESSMENTS OF THE SITUATION AND TO
MAKE CLEAR OUR RECOGNITION THAT ANY FINAL SETTLEMENT WILL
REQUIRE THE COOPERATION, SUPPORT AND POSSIBLE GUARANTEES
BOTH OF US. THE SECRETARY IS CURRENTLY MEETING IN GENEVA
WITH FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO FOR THIS PURPOSE.

F. THERE ARE POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FORCES AT (#)

CERNED. AT SAME TIME, A POWERFUL FACTOR FAVORING FURTHER
PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS IS THE AWARENESS OF THE
SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES OF FAILURE AND OF PROLONGED STALE-
MATE, NOT ONLY FOR THE REGION BUT FOR THE WORLD.

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NOTE BY OC/T: (#) APPARENT OMISSION, CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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